Eccles 4:1 So I returned & considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; & behold the tears of such as were oppressed, & they had no comforter; & on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter.

Solomon was an accurate observer of men. Ignorance of the sufferings of others, & insensibility & indifference to them when known, have ever been among the characteristics of fallen man. However humiliating it may be, there is yet, too much truth in t old maxim that "one half of the

world do not know how the other half live" — much less do they care. If a man be comfortably & pleasantly situated himself, he is very ready to take it for granted that those around him are. If the world goes smoothly with him, he is very willing to believe that it does with them. And if in some way their wants & distresses are forced on his attention, even then like the Priest & the Levite, he is quite ready to pass by on the other side, & leave them unsympathized with & uncared for — "behold the tears of ~~such persons~~ such as were oppressed & they had no comforter.

These remarks are pre-eminently true of us in regard to the oppressions of American slavery. We have been sitting under our own vine & fig tree with none to disturb or make us afraid — enjoying the privileges, & revelling in the sweets of civil & religious liberty —

-pleasing ourselves with the fancy that others were thus free & happy, ~~—~~ ma-
-king our empty boast th this is t "land of the free & t home of t oppressed", & yet have forgotten, or if not forgotten, been compara-
-tively indifferent to t fact, th in our very midst are more than 2.000.000 of immor-
-tal men, made in the image of God, robbed of their precious, th^e inalienable ~~rights~~ rights, & crushed to t earth by a system of oppression as severe & cruel as any th has ever existed on the earth. "Behold the tears of such as are oppressed, & they have no comforter: On t side of th^e oppressors there is power, but they have no compa-
-ter."

Such has been t state of things in re-
-lation to this matter, but, <u>thanks to God</u>, the prospect is changed. Brighter & better days are at hand. The cry of the oppressed has been heard in heaven, & God, in mer-
-cy is causing it to be heard on earth. Already has it entered t ear & heart of

forth, that it must die; & it cannot be recalled. This movement itself is indeed its executioner. This rousing of the public conscience - this breaking forth of the public sentiment will inevitably sweep it away. As well might the puny infant think to breast the mountain waves of ocean, as slavery to stand before the tide of sentiment that is gathering & breaking, & sweeping over the land.

It is that I may do something to give increased tone & vigor & prevalence to this sentiment, that I address you at this time. To this end, permit me to plead for such as are oppressed, by telling you, in part, the story of their wrongs - in other words, ~~to plead~~ by calling your attention to the treatment they receive at the hand of their oppressors.

"But why tell us this &c? (1) The plan on a subsequt occasion (2) abstract (3) to illustr certain important principles &c

The impression is very general, that the slaves in this country, are, for the most part, treated kindly; & multitudes there are

, who lose all their abhorrence of slavery, & deem it a very harmless & tolerable thing, solely in consequence of such an impression. In all this however there is a grand mistake. The word treatment is abused, & as to ye fact of kind of treat-ment, in ye true sense of ye phrase, it has not, & so long as slavery exists, can-not have an existence. It is a contra-diction in things to suppose it.

That many masters treat their slaves kindly, in ye common, ordinary ac-ceptation, is not to be doubted. That many even, who do not treat them kindly in this sense of ye term, do yet treat them as kindly as they can & still retain them as slaves, is also not to be doubt-ed. So far as mere food & clothing, ~~are concerned~~, & corporal punishments of extreme severity, are concerned, there doubtless is much of what may be

called kind treatment. This however is the treatment of the ~~horse, or the dog, the~~ animal merely. And yet even in respect to this, American Slavery, I apprehend is worse than any other slavery of modern times, & the treatment in question less kind to the slave than to the dog or the horse.

Suppose we examine the matter then. We are assured, & by those who claim to know, that the Slaves are kindly treated — that as a general thing, they are well-fed, well-clothed, well-provided for &c, & on the whole, are very happy & contented, knowing not, & of course desiring not a better lot.

Grant, for the mom^t, that this representation is according to fact, & what then? Because their degradation is so complete, as to have blotted out from their mind the consciousness of its own

existence, & along with that, the consciousness of its degradation, shall we pass by on the other side & make no effort to rescue it therefrom & elevate it to the rank of an immortal? Because slavery has made the man a brute, shall we leave him to perish in his brutality, & not attempt to elevate him to the rank of man?

= maniac.
= intemperate.

Such is not the benevolence of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

But is it a fact, that slaves are thus kindly treated & thus contented & comfortable & happy? Let us examine the proof.

1st It is said that there are more pauperism & crime among free blacks, in proportion to their number, than among the whites, & hence the inference that they are more comfortably situated than slaves.

This is a perfect non-sequitur. &
And besides, let the estimate be made

on fair principles & I question the fact.

But be this as it may, if a fact, the prejudices of white men are answerable for it — those prejudices th make the colored man feel himself an outcast to society, with no chance or reputation to stand upon, thus making him at times the victim of stern necessity & compelling him, spite of himself to the commission of crime — these are answerable for it.

e.g. Mary.

But 2. It is said th the slaves increase faster than the free blacks, & hence the inference th the condition is more comfortable.

But this regards immortal man in the light of a mere animal & estimates his comfort or discomfort, happiness or unhappiness by the rate of his increase. So th the poor man with 12 children is 12 times as comfortable as the rich man with only one.

Besides ye argument proves too much — even the slaves are more comfortable than their masters. For in Virginia east of the Blue Ridge, ye slaves have gained on ye whites in 40 years, 106.176! For the same number of years in South Carolina, ye slaves h. very nearly trebled the numbers, while ye whites have not quite doubled theirs. In N. Car. ye whites h increased but 64 per cent, but ye slaves 145! In Georgia, while ye whites h more than doubled five times ye slaves h more than doubled seven. For ye same time, 40 years, in ye five original slave states, Maryland, Virginia, N. Car., S. Car., & Georgia, while ye whites have increased about 80 per cent, ye slaves h increased 112!" (Jones' Report).

The slaves then far outstrip their masters, in ye matter of increase, are they ∴ more comfortable, better fed, better clothed, subjected to lighter punishts

& easier labors? Just ⊥ reverse. The rate of increase then has nothing to do with ⊥ subject - except perhaps to show the fearful extent to wh. ⊥ business of raising slaves for ⊥ market is prosecuted, & the corresponding extent of ⊥ domestic slave trade, & of the system of concubinage & lust so prevalent in ⊥ slave holding states.

But 3. we are pointed to ⊥ testimony of persons, who h.c. at ⊥ South & actually seen slavery, & they tell us, it is said, th ⊥ slaves are very kindly treated, very happy, contented, comfortable &c. &c.

Where have they seen slavery?

And besides, there are two classes of witnesses in this case; & ⊥ second class give a very diff^t testimony. Suppose I quote you a few facts from the testimony of one of them. The individual writes from Natchez, says that he has studied the sto

of things there for years, coolly & deliberately, with the eye of an uninterested looker on; proceeds to relate what he has seen; & says "do not imagine these facts are all exceptions to the general treatment."

He says, after stating a variety of facts which warrant the remark, "I have seen hundreds of slaves treated as my cattle & horses shall never be treated with my consent. I do not pretend to say the every one is branded with red hot irons, that every one is shot, or the half of them are whipped to death. But I know the some of them are, & I doubt not but thousands of such cases have occurred, & will occur again if this system of oppression is not broken up."

And would you hear some of the facts stated in support of this remark? They are such as these — "Soon after my arrival, I made an excursion into the country, to the distance of some twenty

miles. And as I was passing by a cotton field, where about fifty negroes were at work, I was inclined to stop by the road side to view a scene wh. was then new to me. — — —

While I was in my mind, comparing this mode of labor with that of my own native place, I heard the driver with a rough oath, order one that was near him, who seemed to be laboring to the extent of his power, to "lie down." In a moment he was obeyed; and he commenced whipping the offender upon his naked back, and continued to the amount of about twenty lashes, with a heavy raw-hide whip, the crack of which might have been heard more than half a mile. Nor did the females escape. For although I stopped scarcely fifteen minutes, no less then three were whipped in the same manner; and that so severely, I was strongly inclined to interfere.

No 2. Negro without a pass.

2) As I passed on I soon found that I had escaped from one horrible scene only to witness another. A planter with whom I was well acquainted, had caught a negro without a pass. And at the moment I was passing by, he was in the act of fastening his feet and hands to the trees, having previously made him take off all his clothing except his trowsers. When he had sufficiently secured this poor creature, he beat him for several minutes with a green switch more than six feet long; while he was writhing with anguish, endeavoring in vain to break the cords with which he was bound, and incessantly crying out, Lord master! Do pardon me this time! Do master, have mercy!

No 3. Negro bitten by bloodhounds

3) At length I arrived at the dwelling of a planter of my acquaintance with whom I passed the night. At about 8 o'clock in the evening I heard the barking of several dogs, mingled with the most agonizing cries that I ever heard from any human being. Soon after the gentleman came in, and began to apologize, by saying that two of his runaway slaves had just been brought home, and as he had previously tried every species of punishment upon them without effect, he knew not what else to add except to set his blood hounds upon them "And," continued he, "one of them has been so badly bitten that he has been trying to die. I am only sorry that he did not; for then I should not have been further troubled with him. If he lives I intend to send him to Natchez or to New Orleans to work with the ball and chain."

No 4. Slave Hunting.

5 Do you believe it, sir, not six months since, I saw a number of my *Christian* neighbors packing up provisions, as I supposed, for a deer hunt; but as I was about offering myself to the party, I learned that their powder and balls were destined to a very different purpose; it was, in short, the design of the party to bring home a number of runaway slaves or to shoot them if they should not be able to get possession of them in any other way.

You will ask, Is not this murder? Call it, sir, by what name you please, such are the facts—many are shot every year; and that too while the masters say they treat their slaves well.

No 5. Branding with red hot stamps

6 But let me turn your attention to another species of cruelty. About a year since, I knew a certain slave who had deserted his master, to be caught and for the first night fastened in the stocks. In those same stocks from which at midnight I have heard cries of distress, while the master slept, and was dreaming perhaps of drinking wine and of discussing the price of cotton. On the next morning he was chained in an immovable posture, and branded in both cheeks, with red hot stamps of iron. ~~Such are the tender mercies of men who~~

No 6. Cruelty the Rule & kindness the exception

No 7. Slaves by some woman, professor of religion, the flogged her slave girl at the wash tub, with a cow skin for say May 24, 1836

But 4. We are pointed to the testimony of slaveholders themselves, many of them, in other respects, very worthy & estimable men, & they assure us, that as a general thing the slaves are very comfortable - not over-worked or starved or abused, but well-fed, well clothed, well provided for, & in the main contented & happy & would not take the freedom if it were offered them. This however, it should be remembered is the testimony of interested men - men who

would be likely to see only the bright side of the picture. Suppose then, we examine the matter.

"The slaves would not take their freedom &c!" So their masters ever have and I experiment of making them the offer of it! Not they. Or if they do, on wh.t condit.s & in wh.t circ.s is it made!

= Test. of Emm. slaves at Philadelphia
- $600, a $1000 - wife &c.

"They would not take it!" But they do take it, whenever they can, even under all these discouraging circumstances. They will work day & night, & live most sparingly to redeem them, whenever a opportunity is offered. Nay they will leave wife & children behind, in a fond hope, th they may yet redeem them, & that too when in the language of one of

them, "Even freedom is bitter to us, while our friends are in slavery." And accordingly they not only redeem themselves but their friends also. A large majority of the adult colored people in Cincinnati are liberated slaves, many of whom earned with their own hands & paid six, nine, & some nearly fourteen hundred dollars for themselves individually, & their families. Many of them have purchased their friends out of slavery; & it is supposed that at least one third of the adult blacks in the city are employed in earning money to buy their friends & relatives now in slavery.

Nor is it the slave of the cruel master that thus buys his freedom, it is the slave of the kind master. The other will not give his slave his freedom on any terms. The only disposal he makes of his slaves is to work them himself or sell them to the slave trader. On the authority of manumitted slaves, I state it as a

fact that, as a general thing, it is only a kind master that gives his slave the opportunity to redeem himself, or his friends. And yet the conduct shows the freedom, is in their estimation, better than bondage even to one that is kind.

Nor is this all. Look at the laws & regulations designed to prevent the running away, & the manumission of slaves — what is their meaning? Why, do they forbid a contented & comfortable slave to go from one plantation to another without a written pass? And why forbid his learning to write, lest peradventure he should forge a pass for himself? Above all why such laws as this — By a new act of Georgia, passed in 1818, any person, who endeavors to enfranchise a slave by will, testament, contract, or stipulation; or who contrives indirectly to confer freedom, by allowing the slaves to enjoy the

when it is offered them, but allow sh to obtain it by running away, even at the peril of death! You can scarcely take up a southern paper, but you shall find it filled with advertisements of runaway slaves – such as the following

Natchez Courier May 11. 1833

Harrison, L. McCoy, John S. Lon, S. S. McCully, E. Friday, H. Newell, J. M. Roach, A. Herbemont, Stephen Dehrill, Benj. R. Hart, S. H. Maxcy, Samuel Percival, James Johnston, James Smith, E. B. Clapp, G. L. A. Davis, A. S. Johnston, James S. Guignard.

To the committee who delivered the foregoing to Mr. P. he replied, that he did not conceive himself bound to answer any such communication. The gentlemen asked whether they were to bear back that, as his reply? He answered that he had no other to make.

This result being ascertained, another public meeting was assembled by a general movement among the citizens. It was made as regular and formal as possible: the greater part of the municipal officers attending, and the Intendant being placed in the chair.

Mr. E. W. Johnston gave, for the benefit of those not present at the first meeting, a statement of the evidence then obtained. He asked to be corrected, in any part of his account of it that was wrong. No exception was taken to any material part of it.

The following communication from the Rev. Mr. Pinney was submitted.

'To the honorable the Intendent and citizens

Indeed it is not long since various public meetings were called in Maryland and Virginia, to prevent the frequent running away of slaves. The practice had become so frequent & extensive as to require some rigorous measures in

30 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY on the 22d instant, from the subscriber, living near Natchez, Mississippi,

THREE NEGRO MEN.

HARRY, aged about 24 years, five feet 8 or 9 inches high, yellow complexion, likely and sprightly, one of his upper front teeth out, and the small toe of his left foot cut off; his clothing not particularly recollected. GEORGE, aged about 45 years, near the same height and color of Harry, but considerably larger, the middle finger of the left hand has a piece cut off, (I may be mistaken as to the hand) he took with him clothing, two red flannel shirts, domestic cotton shirts and pantaloons, some old broad cloth clothing, one or two blankets, and a black fur hat somewhat worn. TOM, the accomplished rascal, is about 5 feet 11 inches high, yellow complexion; all three of the above boys are near the same color: Tom is a very likely fellow, no marks particularly recollected, except a scar under his jaw, produced from the King's Evil I lately purchased said Tom from J. W. Anderson, of Mason county, Ky. (who trades in slaves.) Tom had a pair of pantaloons and jacket, such as the traders dress their slaves with, a fur hat, one pair of Kentucky Jean pantaloons, and vest of the same. I think these boys will try to get to the upper country, either by land or water. I will give the above reward for all three of the above boys, if taken and secured in jail and information given me so that I may get them, or Ten Dollars for either of them. H. P. JACKSON.

May 11—6w. *Natchez Courier.*

$50 REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber in Louisville, on Sunday the 17th day of February, 1833, my negro boy named CHARLES, a mulatto, straight and erect in his person, very intelligent, and much disposed to talking, about 12 or 13 years of age—His apparel not recollected. The probability is, he is still in Louisville or its neighborhood, or has made his way to Natchez or St. Louis on a steam boat. Any person apprehending said boy and lodging him in jail so that I get him, shall be paid the above reward.

GEORGE WOOLFOLK.

Louisville, April 1, 1833.

order to put a stop to it.

(a) Woman at Philadelphia - "I took it."

(b) Man sold from Carolina to Georgia, ran back, bound, put in boat, escaped, "catch him" - dock -

x (c) Woman at Natch, Ms.

(d) Slaves at Philadelphia, respecting state of feeling in S. Car. [Nash. & Monroe] & in Virginia - [wd be the freedom long ago, if &c].

"But the slaves are very comfortable & this is the reason they do not wish their freedom. Suppose we take a list - inventory of their comforts; & begin

I, with their physical comforts. And here I will specify simple those items - such as food, clothing, labor, corporal punishmt - in respect to wh. it is supposed by many that slaves are kindly treated. And 1st Their food - its quantity & quality - The law of Louisiana directs that

the slave sh. h. for food, one pint of salt & a barrel of Indian corn, rice, or beans every month. In North Carolina & Ten-nessee the a quart of corn per day is suffi-cient. In S. Car. & Georgia a peck of corn per week.

"But 2. Their clothing – its quantity & quality. The law of Louisiana prescribes one linen shirt, & a pair of pantaloons for the summer, & one linen shirt & a woolen great coat, & pantaloons for the winter.

"The Negro, says the Rev. C. C. Jones of Georgia, receives but two suits of clothing a year, wh., w. constant wear & inatten-tion, cannot be expected to remain whole. The children are both ragged & dirty & may be seen frequently, especially in the summer season, almost if not entirely naked, some from necessity, & others from choice."

Again 3d their labor – the time & severity of it. – A negro act of S. Car. has the following, "Whereas many owners of slaves, & others, who have care, management, and overseeing of slaves, do confine them so closely to hard labor that they have not sufficient time to rest; be it therefore enacted, that if any owner of slaves, or other having care &c, shall put such slaves to labor more than fifteen hours in 24 from the 25th of March to the 25th of Sept. or more than fourteen hours, from the 25th of Sept. to the 25th of March, any such person shall forfeit a sum of money not exceeding twenty pounds, nor under five ~~at the discretion~~ pounds, current money, for every time, he, she, or they shall offend therein, at the discretion of the justice, before whom complaint shall be made."

Says the individual, who writes from Natchez, & from whom I have already

guided - As summer was drawing towards a close, & yellow fever beg-
-inning to prevail in town, I went to reside some months in the country. This was the cotton picking season - And I can assure you, that as I sat in my window, night after night, while the cotton was being weighed, I have heard the crack of the whip, without much inter-
-mission, for a whole hour, from no less than three plantations, some of wh. were a full mile distant.

"I found that the slaves were kept in the field from day light until dark, & then if they had not gathered wh. the master or over-
-seer thought sufficient, they were subjected to the lash. Many by such treatment are induced to run away & take up their lodging in the woods. I do not say that all who run away are thus closely ~~pun-~~ ~~ished~~ pressed. But I do know that many are, & I have known no less than a dozen desert at a time from the same plantation,

(11) The Patrol System, in South Carolina. A slave taken without a pass may be whipped 39 lashes & no more, but if he is impudent you may subdue him.

in consequence of the overseers, racing them to work to the extent of the power & then whipping them for not having done more".

We come next to the 4th item in the inventory of the slaves' rights - viz the corporal punishm.ts to wh. they are subjected, such as whipping, branding, shooting. And here, it shd be remembered, th there are no laws at the south to prevent the master fr inflicting any degree of cruelty on his slave, he chooses - even to death itself. Let the master whip, beat, bruise, kill his slave, if he will, & so long as there is no white present, to witness, & make complaint & testify to the fact, he escapes with impunity. This is true, not only in the statute book but in actual life. (a)

The gentleman who writes from Natchez, says - "There was some time since brought to trial in this town a planter, residing about eighteen miles,

miles - - - - - distant, for whipping his slave to death. You will suppose of course that he was punished. No, sir, he was acquitted, although there could be no doubt of the fact. I heard the tale of murder from a man who was acquainted with all the circumstances. "I was," said he, "passing along the road near the burying ground of the plantation, about 9 o'clock at night, when I saw several lights gleaming through the woods—and as I approached in order to see what was doing, I beheld the coroner of Natchez with a number of men, standing around the body of a young female, which by the torches seemed almost perfectly white. On inquiry I learned that the master had so unmercifully beaten this girl that she died under the operation. And that also he had so severely punished another of his slaves that he was but just alive.

Female slave whipped to death

(1) Barbaro

(2) Man in Fountville

Marianna

(3) Neville letter

True, the mind, unaccustomed to such scenes, misgives, & is ready to ask how can these things be! Indeed it is often said that they cannot - that picture is overdrawn - that mere self interest will keep the master of the slave, just as it does the master of the ox or a horse, from such acts of extreme cruelty. But the facts - they come to us well attested - & they show us what that picture is, & also contradict the theory that interest in the master is a security against extreme cruelty. And well they may. There is an obvious reason why they should. The truth is interest in this case, so far from being a barrier, is the grand incentive, to cruelty. A farmer it is true, if two of his cattle were to stray away, & afterwards be brought back, wd never think of shutting them up by themselves & setting his bloodhounds upon them; much less wd he allow himself to whip one of them to death; but what then! The slaveholder may

do both; & t same interest, which in the one case prevents t cruelty, shall produce it in the other. And t reason of t diff^ce is obvious. In the one case, mere animals are t subjects of the supposed cruelty, & therefore though t strangers shd be bitten, or flogged to death, no effect is produced thereby on the others to deter them from similar conduct. In this case interest therefore will predominate over feelings of revenge & operate as a check to cruelty. In t other case however men, degraded it is true, yet immortal, rational men, are t subjects of the supposed cruelty. Here therefore the punishm^t inflicted on one is made to operate on t minds of t others to deter them from similar conduct. ~~Of course, here revenge & interest go hand in hand, & instead of checking, do but~~ Here, of course, interest goes hand in hand with anger & revenge, & instead of operating as a check, does but operate as an incentive to cruelty - demanding, th

t runaway be bitten by blood hounds, branded with red hot stamps of iron, or whipped, if need be, to death, in order thereby to strike terror into t minds of other slaves, & prevent them from attempting an escape from the house of bondage, & thus give increased security to the masters hold upon them.

Under such a system of law therefore as exists at t south, & with interest & revenge both urging on to it, we should expect beforehand, the t kinds & degrees of punishment would be many & severe. Suppose we look, 1st at t item of whipping - its various modes.

On the authority of some nine individuals, who had once been slaves, I have minuted bef. me, some fifteen diff. modes of whipping to which they had been subjected themselves, or had known of others being subjected. They

are as follows

See Spence's account of the man whipped to death in Lord Ed. Henry's Journal vol. 2 p. 50

All this, you observe, is but the treat^t, the slave receives at the hand of the master, & in the very particulars, in respect to wh. it is commonly supposed the he is treated kindly. Time would fail me to detail the cruelties to which he is subjected at the hands of others, & by the inequality of the laws. One fact. In the slave states taken as a whole, the slave may be put to death for seventy one crimes, for none of which does the white man suffer any thing worse than imprisonment in the penitentiary.

But, as I said, the word treatment is abused. In reference to the slaves, as in reference to other men, it has a larger meaning & embodies in it some thing more than these mere animal comforts of food, clothing &c. In its true sense, & its only true sense as applied to men - it has respect to rights, as well as to mere bodily, animal comforts & conveniences. Indeed it has chief respect to rights. Then

is no injustice so highhanded, no oppression so severe, & no treatment so cruel as the trampled & wrested rights. Nay it is, in this trampling on sacred & inviolable rights the injustice, oppression, & cruelty mainly consist. All else is but a mere overt act. A threepenny tax on tea, is a very trifling matter in itself, but to levy it without our consent, that indeed, is to set up a claim — to establish a precedent — to act on a principle, the trampling on our sacred & inviolable rights, & thus jeopardizes our dearest interests; & that is tyranny — & iron yoke of despotism, & is to be resisted unto blood. But suppose this despotism of a threepenny tax without our consent, had gone forward in its encroachments until, at length, it had set up its claim to all & products of our labor — not merely to threepence the pound on & tea we might use, but to our entire property, nay to our time, our employ^t,

our wives, our children, our bodies, our minds, our all, & th without our consent, would t yoke of such a despotism be less a yoke of iron, because, in the greatness of its growth, it has trampled on all our rights, & not only jeopardized, but, in numberless instances, actually wrested fr us all th we held dear - even to the ownership of our children & our wives & our very selves? And yet this is the very despotism under which more than 2.000.000. of human beings, are, at this moment groaning, in this "land of t free & home of t oppressed" ~~as it has been well said, groaning under~~ groaning, as it has been well said, under t "despotism of freedom.

Now wht are food & raiment wht are mere bodily comforts & conveniences, in such a case as this? They are t veriest nothing. Well might t slave say, "I care not for them. Take away my cloak, yea my

coat also, & t food out of my mouth, but rob me not of myself. Unfetter my body, unchain my mind & give me back t possession of myself, else you b. robbed of every thing. In resting & withholding from me t ownership of myself, you rob me of all that is mine - my soul - my body, my wife, my child, my property, my all. Tell me not then, of t kind treatment of comfortable food & clothing, that indeed is desireable in itself, but after all, wh.t is it but another name for t care t robber takes to secure & make t best of his stolen property! No. The injustice of rested rights is t most high handed of all injustice - the treatment of trampled rights is the most cruel of all treatment, & no acts of kindness, in t way of comfortable food & clothing, can ever make amends for it. Indeed so long as it exists, such acts of apparent kind.s, however well meant, are but t mockery of my woe - hiding t cruelty of my oppression - covering up its odiousness - perpetuating its guilty existence,

(a) e.g. 1. The slave of an Episcopal clergyman - kindly treated, but paid $800 for his freedom so as not to be liable to be sold.

& causing the iron thereof to enter & deeper into my soul." Thus might & slave reason, & reason correctly too; & thus in point of fact do they reason. Ask the poor, degraded, trodden down slave, & degraded as he is, he will tell you the food & raiment - the comforts & conveniences of the body are the least of his concern, but, that it is this wresting from him of his inviolable rights as a man, that makes his yoke a yoke of iron & his fetters, fetters of steel; & that when he toils night & day to purchase his freedom, or lays his plots of insurrection & blood, it is not for food & clothing & the comforts of the body that he does it, but to regain his wrested rights - the one great right, that embodies all others, the right of ownership to himself. (a)

It is here then that the bondage of the slave is most severe, & that he feels it most keenly - Suppose we look a moment at the manner & extent, to which his rights are thus wrested from him. And we will

begin w. th right, wh is t foundation of all others – the right of ownership to himself. The slave does not own himself, nor, as we sh see, anything else.

"A slave", according to t new code of Louisiana, "is one who is in t power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry & his labor: he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master." [Civil Code Art. 35.]

According to this definition the master owns the slave; & in such a sense, as that 1. He may sell him & all th is his; & 2. may dispose of him & all that is his. Let me enlarge on these two particulars

1. The master, ~~being the owner~~, may sell the slave & all that is his. He, himself belongs to t master, & he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing wh does not belong to him. Of course,

the master may sell him; or, by the indulgence of the master, he has obtained for himself, some little items of property, & fondly called them his own, the master if so disposed, may arrest them away & sell them & put the proceeds into his own pocket; if he have a wife, the partner of his toils & his sorrows, the master may sell her to day; & if he have children, sell them to morrow: or should the master not do this, but should he die, or be involved in debt, then the sheriff may do it in his stead. And thus the man, the yesterday, lightened his bondage & seemed almost to forget its bitterness, as he thought of his little treasures, & his wife, & his children & called them all his own, to morrow may be stripped of all, his wife sold & driven in one direction, his children in another, himself in another, & each & all alike doomed to drag out the remnant of their days in a yet severer bondage & in everlasting seperation from each other.

No 2.

No 2.

Buffalo Lands.

A GENTLEMAN about removing from this State, offers his Plantation in Glynn county for sale, a bargain, containing 300 acres first rate Cotton Land, cleared and in good order; 350 acres prime hammock Land, uncleared; 900 acres first quality Swamp; 300 acres Pine barren. A good Dwelling, well finished; a Gin House with two good roller Gins, which will average 150 lbs of clean Cotton per day; Cotton Houses sufficient to hold 200 bales; Carpenter's Shop, Blacksmith's Shop, Corn House, a small Sugar Mill, Ox-Carts, Ploughs, Hoes, and all requisites for a plantation, with forty hands; Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and what Provisions remain on hand. Possession will be given by the 15th of January. Apply to R. & W. KING.

dec 19.

CORONER'S SALE.

ON the first Tuesday in March next, before the Court House in Savannah, between the lawful hours of sale, will be sold, the following slaves, to wit: a mulatto boy named William, a negro fellow named Mark and a negro girl named Milly: Levied on as the property of George Millen, to satisfy a fi fa on foreclosure of mortgage in favor of William Williams.

J. W. REMSHART, c. c. c.

dec 28 298—+

EXECUTORS' SALE,

On the first Tuesday in March next.

WILL be sold before the Court House, in this city, the following eight negroes, (six of them prime field hands) viz:

Scipio, Little Scipio, Molly, Jack, Maria, Paul, Sue and Sibby, belonging to the estate of Charlotte Ann Palmer, late of Chatham county, deceased.

The above property is sold to pay the debts

SHERIFF'S SALE.

On the first Tuesday in April next,

WILL be sold before the Court House in the city of Savannah between the usual hours of sale, the following property, viz:

A Negro Woman named Celia, levied on as the property of Simon Bunce, to satisfy an execution in favor of S. Philbrick.

march 3 JOHN I. DEWS, s. c. c.

SHERIFF'S SALE.

On the first Tuesday in April next,

WILL be sold before the Court House in the city of Savannah, between the usual hours of sale, the following property, viz:

Three negro slaves named Bella, William and Edward; levied on as the property of Moses B. Quinley, deceased, under and by virtue of an execution on foreclosure of mortgage, issuing out of the Hon. the Superior Court of Chatham county, in favor of William Robinson. Property pointed out by plaintiff's attorney.

march 3 JOHN I. DEWS, s. c. c.

SUNDAY SCHOOL MEETING.

There will be a public meeting of the friends of Sunday Schools, in the Independent Presbyterian Church this evening, *at seven o'clock*, to aid in carrying into effect the Resolution adopted by the American Sunday School Union, at its last annual meeting, which is in the following words.—

"It being understood that the Board has received, from various sources, loud and pressing calls to increased action in the Southern part of our country, and that a plan for rigorous and persevering operation in that portion of the United States has been originated and approved in the South, and the Society being assured that such increased action is regarded not only as desirable, but necessary, by many good men, therefore,

"*Resolved*, unanimously, That the American Sunday School Union will endeavor, in reliance upon the aid and blessing of Almighty God, to plant, and for five years sustain, Sabbath Schools in every neighborhood (where such schools may be desired by the people, and where in other respects it may be practicable) within the bounds of the States of Maryland Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Florida.

It is hoped that there will be a very general attendance of the friends of this noble cause. Much interesting information in relation to Sunday Schools and the operations of the Society, will be communicated.

Addresses will be made by the Rev. Messrs. Welch and Shepherd, and other Gentlemen.

Savannah, March 4th, 1834.

No 2.

No 2.

[illegible] THE TOWN OF HAMBURG, [illegible] to merit their approbation and support. Have just received by recent arrivals, an extensive assortment of

READY MADE CLOTHING

of all descriptions, manufactured in New York expressly for this market, viz: Black Blue, Olive Brown, Invisible Green, Purple, and Oxford Coats, and Frock Coats; Petersham and Bright over Coats: Pantaloons of all description Cassimeres, Blue, Black, Cavonder, White, Sky, Light Blue, Oxford, Drab, and fashion stripe Cassimeres. Vestings of Velvet figured and plain Buff, White and figured Marsellos Valencia. Fancy Articles, Buckskin Glove Bombazin Stocks, both plated and plain; Elastic, Silk, and Cotton knit and web Suspenders; White and Figured India Hdkfs.; Italian Hdkfs: Cotton do- of all description Pantaloon Straps; Hosiery of all description Spanish Silk and Cotton Umbrellas.

ALSO,

NEGROES CLOTHING by the whole at reduced prices for cash.

Gentlemen are requested to call and examine for themselves.

All orders from the country will be thankfully received and punctually attended to.

No 3. Advertisements from the Charleston Courier March 1834

NEGROES WANTED.—The highest cash prices will be paid for NEGROES, of both sexes, from the ages of eight to thirty, by calling on the Subscriber, in Tradd-street, within one door of the corner of Church street, where I have taken a house for twelve months, and can be seen at all times.

Feb. 15 — HOPE H. SLATTER.

FOR SALE, a very intelligent FELLOW, about 30 years of age, a Carriage driver and complete Hostler. The purchaser must bind himself to take him out of the State. Apply at this office. March 1 22

AT PRIVATE SALE.—A first rate MAN COOK.

A likely young Fellow, House Servant.

And several other House Servants. Apply to

JERVEY, WARING & WHITE.

March 21 2—

FOR SALE,

The HOUSE situated on the South East corner of Bull and Smith-streets, opposite Col. Magwood's. On the Premises are all the Buildings necessary for the accommodation of a genteel family.

ALSO,

Six valuable NEGROES, all of whom are excellent House Servants. For particulars, apply on the Premises, or to JAMES W. GRAY.

☞An excellent young Saddle HORSE, for sale as above. — March 4

Negroes.

BY THOMAS MILLIKEN.

On THURSDAY, 3d April, to commence precisely at half past 10 o'clock, will be sold at the North side of the Custom House, to satisfy a mortgage from Catharine Weyman to Mary R. Weyman,

51 *prime NEGROES.*

Accustomed to the culture of Rice.

Conditions cash. Purchasers to pay for Papers.

March 21

No 2.

No 2.

[illegible] to merit their approbation and support. The [illegible] just received by recent arrivals, an extensive [illegible] assortment of

READY MADE CLOTHING

of all descriptions, manufactured in New York expressly for this market, viz: Black Blue, Olive Brown, Invisible Green, Purple, and Oxford Coats, and Frock Coats; Petersham and Beaver over Coats: Pantaloons of all description Cassimeres, Blue, Black, Cavender, White, Sky, Light Blue, Oxford, Drab, and fashionable stripe Cassimeres. Vestings of Velvet figured and plain Buff, White and figured Marseilles Valentia. Fancy Articles, Buckskin Gloves, Bombazin Stocks, both plaited and plain; Elastic, Silk, and Cotton knit and web Suspenders; White and Figured India Hdks.; Italian Hdks: Cotton do. of all description Pantaloon Straps; Hosiery of all description picnighin Silk and Cotton Umbrellas.

ALSO,

NEGROES CLOTHING by the whole at reduced prices for cash.

Gentlemen are requested to call and examine for themselves.

All orders from the country will be thankfully received and punctually attended to.

[illegible] and other accounts

No 3. Advertisements from the Charleston Courier March 1834

[illegible]

is one of the most pleasing Juvenile Books ever published. From the Atlantic Tales the youth of both sexes can derive the most instructive truths, truths which are inculcated in such a charming manner, that unmeasured delight the warmest regard for the talented author of this most deserving work. A new supply just received and for sale by E. THAYER.

No 4.

At a public sale of the balance of the property of Mr. Boutigny, in New Orleans, on the 11th inst, we observe it stated that 48 slaves were sold for the sum of *forty-two thousand four hundred and ten dollars*, and several lots of ground [illegible] than $100,000.

☞The Bible Society of the State of Maryland.—The annual meeting of this Society will be held on THURSDAY, the 1st of May next, of which the auxiliaries and county Societies will please take notice. ap 24

This is all this a mere "may be" – a mere liability to these things – a matter that has no existence save in the Statute book. – though this alone were cruel enough.

e.g. the family.

But these things actually are. They are a matter of practical life, & of every-day occurrence. The slave is thus sold himself, & his little items of property, his wife, & his children are thus torn from him & sold also; & he has no voice in the matter, & no alternative but to submit & let the iron enter his soul. – Look at the facts.

No. 1. New Orleans Handbill, advertise^t of 45 slaves – sold at the Exchange Dec 18. 1833. at noon – Declaration of Indep-endence at one end of the Hall – one years credit, notes endorsed, & mortgage on the property until final payment.

No. 2. Advertisements – five – from a Savannah paper – & in same paper notice of a Sab. school meeting. – [See opposite page]

No 2. The origin from St. Louis that cut his throat rather than be separated from his wife — Stanton

And not only are they sold thus, but they are seperated, one from the other, husband from wife &c. at the discretion of the master.

No. 1. The St Louis Republican. 1834.

From the St. Louis Republican.

A NEGRO DRIVER.

Messrs. Editors—There is a *negro-driver* now in this city whom I wish to brand with infamy, and in order that I may do so, I ask for room in your columns to make the following simple statement:

A few days since, he went into the country a short distance from the city, and purchased a negro woman, under the following circumstances. She was about 24 years old, of excellent character, and married to a husband about 28 years of age. As soon as the bargain was closed the driver told her to start, giving her only ten minutes to prepare. She was not allowed to see her husband. She however sent him word she was gone, and bade him good bye, and was driven into town and confined by her brutal purchaser. When-the poor fellow her husband, heard the message—for they were tenderly attached and both of most excellent character—he seemed absolutely stunned with the most unexpected blow. He followed his poor wife to town to take a last look and bid a last adieu, but the thought of parting was more than he could bear, and he determined if possible, to go with her and share her fate. My informant saw him soon after he came to town, and says that his appearance was such, so completely was his heart broken with anguish, that had he (my informant) been master of five hundred dollars in the world, they should have gone to redeem his wife. When asked what he intended doing, his reply was, "I will get my master to sell me to the driver, and go with my poor wife; my days will not be long on earth, and this I hope will shorted them."

And, what renders the matter still ~~worse is, the, that this is not done~~ worse, is the chh members do this as well as others, & in some cases, even sell & seperate from each other, slaves the are members of the same chh. with them selves.

No. 1. Correspondent of N. Y. Evang. March 29. 1834.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.

THE CHURCH MEMBER WITH DESPOTIC POWER.

Traveling through the United States, that "asylum for the oppressed of all nations," where personal liberty is acknowledged to be an "inalienable right," I came to a region in which this "inalienable right" is taken away from more than 100,000 men, besides women and children. And not only so, but men, women and children, like cattle and hogs, are put up at public auction, and sold to the highest bidder. In that part of the country where those persons who are deprived of their "inalienable rights" are said to be treated much better than in many other places, and to be more comfortable than laborers in England, a church member sold to traders "from below," *a little child*. The mother of the child, yearning over it with maternal affection, and unable to endure the thought of parting with it forever, and of having it driven away into a land of strangers, caught it up in her arms, bathed it with her tears, and refused to let it go. The church member, with curses, caught it from her, kicked her away, and delivered her child to the trader; who carried it off to be sold, in that "free country," into *perpetual bondage*.

That same church member claimed and treated as property, a man, whose wife was also claimed and treated as property by another church member. This husband ventured, as often as once in two weeks, to go and spend a night with his wife; though he was careful not to start till after dark at night, and to return before dight in the morning. This, in that "land of liberty," was, in the view of the church member, "liberty" which was insufferable; and having discovered what the husband had dared to do, he resolved forthwith to sell him, and have him transported to such a distance that he should never again see his wife. His brother church member, by whom the wife was claimed as property, resolved himself to buy the husband, in order that in future he might live with his wife. But the other church member would not sell the man to him, though he offered a higher price for him than any other person. He refused to let him have him at any price, and sold him to strangers, to be transported to a distant part of that "free country," and it is feared that husband and wife will be separated till death.

As this was done in a part of the country in which it is said such persons are treated much *better* than in other parts, and by a professor of that religion which commands its followers to do to others as they would that others should do to them,—what, Mr. Editor, must be the treatment which persons deprived of "inalienable rights" may receive in other parts of the country? and what ought to be the views and feelings and prayers and efforts of Christians with regard to the 2,000,000 (and many of them Christians) that are thus defrauded of their "inalienable rights" in that free country? T.

may even worse, some masters thus sell their own children. "In the course of the conversation", says Mr Stuart in his Three Years in America, "it turned out th this planter was frequently waited upon at table by his own children, & he actually sent some of them to the public market to be sold as slaves."

But the master's right of ownership in a slave involves in it the right of disposal, not only in the matter of sale, but in every other respect. Hence,

2. He may dispose of a slave, & all that is his - his wife, children, industry, labor, person, - all, at his discretion. There are, it is true, various laws, professedly designed to regulate & limit this power, so that it shall not break forth in acts of excessive severity & oppression on the slave, & yet they are all nullified & rendered, a mere dead letter, by some other enactments, or by the single one, everywhere in force, that a testimony of a colored man is not to be received in evidence against a white. So that a slave, is every where, to all intents & purposes, under the absolute & irresponsible control of his master. He may dispose of him & his - of his ~~person~~ industry & labor & that of his wife & children; & even of his & their person, just ~~& of his person & that of his~~

as he pleases. He may compel them to work when, & where, & how ~~he pleases~~ & to wht amount he pleases. He may ~~compel~~ whip them himself, or compel the father to whip the child^n, the husband the wife &c to any extent he pleases — even to death itself. He may compel the husband to leave the bed of his wife to give place to him, & compel the wife or the daughter to yield to his unhallowed embrace; & compel the son to select such individual, or as the case may be, individuals for his wife, or wives, as he sees fit, or as his interest may require. He may even take away the keys of knowledge & shut up the soul to ignorance & sin & death.

Nor is all this a matter of mere abstraction, having no existence save in the statute book, & amounting to nothing more than a mere "maybe." It is altogether a practical affair — a matter of actual life. This power over the slave, wh. is lodged in the master's

~~But 2. This master's right of owner-~~
~~ship in the slave involves in it~~

hand, though not in all or even a ma-
-jority, does yet, in numberless cases,
awake to most tremendous fearful
action, & is seen & realized in all of t
results adverted to.

Look at the facts. You h. already
seen some of t facts, illustrative of the
master's power of disposal, in t matter of
food, clothing, labor, whipping &c. Look at
a few facts illustrative of t other points
named. See t operation of his power over
t person of t slave in regard to unlaw-
ful & criminal indulgence. In most
or all of t slave states, ~~the colored~~
a colored person, male or female, ~~bond~~
bond or free, may not resist a white
person in self defence, in any case —
~~under the pain~~ on pain of very se-
vere punishments. And the master
who shd meet with resistance of a
slave, wd not hesitate, if so disposed,
to shoot him on the spot. Under such
a system of law therefore, the person of

Such is the state of things therefore
as in the language of Rev Robert
J. Breckenridge of Baltimore, in my Sermon before Presbytery 2 Dec. a few years ago
"reduce them (the slaves) to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life & encouraging universal prostitution."

See opposite page

the female slave, be she married or unmarried, is perfectly at the mercy of her master or her overseer; ~~or indeed any white person whatever.~~ ~~or indeed of any white person who has~~ And instances, not a few, are on record, in which she has been been compelled to yield to the demands of ungodly lust. –

No 1. Minister in Mississippi the refused to protect a slave girl from the licentiousness of his overseer.

And the same compulsory power extends to the men. – "Marriage", says Mr Stuart, "is commonly allowed; but where a young man has a fine family, the planter very often, with a view to the increase of his stock, forces him to have many wives: & in the same way married females are often obliged to

to receive more husbands than one as the planter may order".

(a)

But this claim of ownership goes further. It sets up a claim to the jurisdiction & disposal of ye mind as well as ye body. In the pride & greatness of its usurpation, it comes in betw. ye man & himself, yea ye man & his God, & setting up a claim paramount to either, takes ye key of knowledge to itself, shuts out immortal mind from ye light the G. has thrown around it, & in ye midst of ye bibles, & sabbaths, & sanctuaries of Christianity, locks up the mind to the darkness of Paganism — or, if possible, to a darkness the is even worse. It thus, not only tramples on ye dearest rights of man, but virtually exercises jurisdiction over God himself; — where he has

said let there be mind & let its powers be developed for the good of man & the glory of God, daring to say, in opposition to this mandate of heaven, there mind shall not be, or if it be, its powers shall not be developed. The good of man & the glory of God to be secured by such development must yield their claims to me. In other words the slave is not owner of his own mind, but his mind like his body, is entirely ~~at the disposal of his master to be enlightened or not at the master's pleasure~~ subject to the master's disposal — to be kept in just as gross ignorance as the master pleases to keep it.

By an act of South Carolina "Assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, & mestizos," for the purpose of mental instruction" are declared to be unlawful, & the officer dispersing such unlawful assemblage, may inflict

(a)

No 1.

LAWS OF DRACO.

The following bill was reported to the Legislature of of South Carolina on the 3d inst, There is no doubt the blanks will be filled with good round numbers, and that the bill will pass without material change. Perhaps no comment could illustrate so forcibly the unnatural condition of slavery, as the fact that in order to maintain it, consistently with the safety of the whites, it is necessary, or deemed necessary, to resort to such barbarous, unchristian, and despotic measures. The minds of the slaves it seems—yes, and of free persons too, if they chance to have a coloured skin,—are not only to be kept in the greatest intellectual darkness, but even the "light of the glorious Gospel" may not shine in upon them, except through certain crevices and chinks which the Legislature in their clemency have seen fit to leave open! A master may not teach his own slave to read or write, under penalty of fine and imprisonment! No person of color is permitted to exercise the functions of a clergyman, under penalty of fine, imprisonment and the lash! No slave or free person of color may be employed as clerk or salesman, under penalty or fine and imprisonment! The regulation prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits to slaves, is a very good one.

Journals BILL, Commerce

To amend the law in relation to Slaves and Free persons of Colour. 1833

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same.* If any person shall hereafter teach any slave, or free person of color, to read or write, or aid or assist in the teaching of any slave or free person of colour to read or write, or cause or procure any slave or free person of colour to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof by indictment, shall, for each and every offence against this act, be fined not exceeding dollars and imprisoned not more than ; or, if a free person of colour, shall be whipped not exceeding lashes, fined, not exceeding dollars, and imprisoned not exceeding , at the discretion of the Court of Magistrates and Free holders, before which free person of colour is tried: and, if a slave shall, be whipped at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding lashes.

2. It shall not hereafter be lawful for any slave to preach, lecture, or give religious instruction to slaves, except on his master's plantation with the written permission of the master or agent; and provided also, that there shall be no assemblage of slaves from any other plantation, under the penalty of lashes for each and every offence.

Sec. 3. It shall not be lawful hereafter for any free person of color to use or exercise the functions of a Clergyman, to preach or lecture; and any free person of color who shall publicly preach or lecture, shall, for each and every offence, incur the penalties prescribed for free persons of color teaching slaves or free persons of color to read or write.

Sec. 4. No white person shall preach, lecture or give religious instruction to any assemblage or congregation of colored persons, unless the number of white persons present be equal to one seventh of the number of persons of color: and if any person shall be convicted thereof by indictment, such person shall be liable for each and every offence to be imprisianed, not exceeding and fined not exceeding dollars: provided, that nothing herein contained shall prevent any white person from preaching, lecturing, or giving any religious instruction to any assemblage or congregation of slaves upon the plantation of the owner or person having charge of such slaves, and with his written approbation and consent.

Sec. 5. If any person shall employ, or keep as a clerk, or permit any person of color, free or slave, to act as a clerk or salesman, in or about any shop, store or house, used for trading, such person shall be liable to indictment, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined for each and every offence, not exceeding dollars, and imprisoned not exceeding

Sec. 6. If any person shall sell, give, or in any otherwise deliver any spirituous liquor to any slave, except upon the express and written order of the owner or person having the care and management of such slave, specifying that the same is for the sole use of such owner or person having the care and management of such slave, such person, if a white person, upon conviction by indictment, shall be imprisoned not exceeding , and be fined not exceeding dollars, for each every offence: or, if a free person of color, shall incur the penalties prescribed for free persons of color teaching slaves or free persons of color, to read or write.

Sec. 7. Upon the trial of any person having the use or occupation of any shop, store or house used for trading, indicted for trading with slaves, without a permit, under the act of the General Assembly, passed on the day of December, 1813, it shall be sufficient for the conviction of such person to prove, that the slave charged in the indictment to have been traded, trafficked and dealt with, entered such shop, store or house used for trading, with the article or articles charged in the indictment to have been purchased by said defendant, and left said shop, store or house without the same; or that said slave entered said shop store or house without the article or articles charged in the indictment, to have been sold by said defendant, to said slave, and left the said store, shop or house with the same immediately after.

Sec. 8. If any person shall knowingly have or receive any slave (other than such as he himself may own or hire), at any time on Sunday, or at any time between sun-set and sun-rise on any other day, into his shop, store or other house, used in the way of trade, or in any yard or lot attached thereto, or on board of any boat or vessel navigating coast-wise, or on any creek or river, such person shall be deemed, on proof of the fact, guilty of dealing, trading and trafficking with such slave.

REPORT

of the Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the Religious Instruction of the Colored Population, of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at its late Session in Columbia, S. C.—Published by order of Synod.

renders
ary lei-
it will
reeable
of the
be less
. And

"Sounds which address the ear, are lost and die
In one short hour; but that which strikes the eye,
Lives long upon the mind; the faithful sight,
Engraves the knowledge with a beam of light."

THE ART OF SHORT HAND WRITING,

such corporal punish^t not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes &c as they may judge necessary for restraining them from the like unlawful assemblage in future."

The city of Savannah has an ordinance, by wh. "any person, th teaches [redacted] to read any [redacted] s to be or u[redacted] $30. for so ta[redacted] dor, who cash[redacted] ing or sh [redacted] n to be unit[redacted] lashes" impr[redacted]

[See (a) opposite page]

Nor are these, & other similar laws a mere dead letter. They are sustained & enforced & carried out into all their legitimate results by a corresponding public sentiment. On the authority of a ~~Report of a com~~ Report, of a committee of the Synod of S. Carolina & Georgia,

published by order of the Synod, in the Charleston Observer of March 22. 1834, the following is stated to be the condition of the slaves, in respect to matter of religious instruction. Of course, if they h. no religious instruction, they h. no other.

Say the Com. & through them the Synod

[redacted]

These statements, are abundantly corroborated by the Rev. C. C. Jones, a member of this same synod, in his report of the Mor. & religious condition of the slaves. He assures us that they have next to no means or opportunities for relig. instruction – the meetings for this purpose "do not enter into the arrangements of plantations" – the "weeks, months, & years roll away, & servants live & die, & masters introduce not among them the gospel with its consolations & hopes, so precious to persons in the circumstances" – that multitudes thus "live & die without a knowledge of the way of salvation" – that, "the private & public religious instruction forms no part of the aim of owners generally", but the "the great, the absorbing aim is to work them profitably", & "if the relig. or the morality does not affect this point, it may be any thing or everything or nothing" in short, the "they are shut out

from the sympathies & efforts of christians, as immortal beings, & are educated & disciplined as creatures of profit, & of profit only for this world."

Nor is this all — not only is the slave thus shut out from the light & instruction of the gospel, & consequently from its standard of obligation & duty, but he is every where trained & educated & punished under a false standard. Offences against the master are punished more severely than violations of the law & gospel of God. The slave is ~~taught to regard running away as a more heinous crime than adultery~~ punished more severely for running away than for adultery. Indeed the one crime is often winked at & overlooked, while the other subjects him to the severest punishm^t. And so of other crimes. Sabbath breaking, swearing, fornication, are nothing, compared with idleness. In the language of another — [Thomas S. Clay. Bryan Co. Georgia] "the

negro is seldom taught to feel th he is punished for breaking ye law. He only knows his master as lawgiver & execu-tioner, & the sole object of punishment, as held up to his view, is to make him a more obedient & profitable slave. "He often hears th he sh be punished if he steals than if he breaks ye Sabbath or swears, & thus he sees ye very threatenings of God brought to bear on his master's interests. It is very manifest to him that — his master's interests are to be secured at all events; — God's claims are secondary, or enforced merely for ye purpose of advancing those of his owner." [Detail of a Plan for ye Mor. Imp. of Negroes on plantations; read bef. ye Georgia Presbytery. 1833. by Thomas S. Clay of Bryan Co. Georgia]

All this, you observe, grows out of the master's right to dispose of the slave & all th is his. It is in ye exercise of this, & this alone, th ye master frames

those laws, & originates & sustains the public sentiment, & pursues the course of conduct in relation to his slaves, which thus shuts them out from the light & blessings of the gospel, & at the same time, trains & educates them under a false & wicked, & God-dishonoring standard of obligation & duty.

And now wht is the actual result of this wresting away of rights from the slave? - this arbitrary & irresponsible control of himself & his? I speak not with reference to the physical, but to that moral degradation, which is its legitimate & inevitable result - wht is that?

On the authority, & almost in the language of the Rev. C. C. Jones &c. it is this -

1. Slaves are most deplorably ignorant of christianity "Their notions of the Supreme Being, the char. & office of C., of the H. G., of a future state, & of wht constitutes holiness of life are confused. Some there are, ignorant of the name itself of the Exalted

Savior. The Mohammed Africans, who remain of the Old Stock of importation, though accustomed to hear the gospel preached, have been known to accommodate Christ to Mohammedanism. "They say they "is Allah, & J. C. is Mohammed, the religion is the same, but diff^t countries have diff^t names."

"Sometimes principles of conduct are adopted by ch. members, so much at variance w. the gospel, that the grace of G. is turned into lasciviousness."

2. They feel but little personal responsibility to God in the matter of their salvation. "Many feel & say, that it is impossible for them to serve G. & their earthly master too. To serve one requires all the time, & all the attention, & then they must do their best or fall under his displeasure. & that having little knowledge, little leisure, hard work, & much to do for themselves, after this is finished, God will make allowances for their condition; & should they

be lost, the others, viz the masters & managers, will come in for the share of the blame".

3. Those who give evidence of real piety are few, in comparison to the numbers, who profess religion. Excommunications & suspensions are perpetually occurring, for such crimes as adultery, fornication, theft, lying, drunkenness.

Among the prevailing vices, according to Mr Jones are these — —

1. Polygamy. This is practised both secretly & openly, though in some portions of the country the crime is diminished & diminishing. Little or no sacredness is attached to the marriage contract, & instances of conjugal fidelity, for a long course of years, are exceeding rare.

2. Lewdness. Chastity, in either sex, is exceedingly rare. The universality & great. of the vice of lewdness, is every where known & acknowledged. All the consequences of this vice are to be seen, not excepting infanticide itself. This crime prevails to a

far greater extent than most persons are aware."

3. Theft. Slaves are proverbially thieves.

4. Falsehood. "Duplicity is one of the most prominent traits of char. - particularly toward the master's & managers."

5. Profaneness. This vice obtains on some plantat^s, & in some districts of country to an awful extent; & with it is con-nected obscene conversation, songs, jests &c.

6. Drunkenness. This would be more prevalent but for the want of facilities to obtain spirit; & the severity of the punish^t for it, ~~&c.~~

7. Sabbath-breaking. "If they go not to ch as multitudes do not, they visit the^r friends or relations, or spend the day in sleeping, hunting, fishing, thieving, pursu-ing or destroying with guns or dogs, stock of all kinds the^y may be exposed; or in labor for them^s - pleading in excuse, 'we h no other time to work for our-selves.'"

And all this, you observe, is but the legitimate result of the one right of ownership to the slave, claimed by the master, & involving in it the right to sell & dispose of him & his, according to his own good pleasure. And, now, in view of the whole, I ask what is the kind treatment of mere food & raiment, & bodily comfort? Feed & clothe & fan me, if you will, as if I were a king, and, so long — —

the master may sell him; if ~~he have a little sum of money, laid up~~ by the indulgence of his master, he has accumulated a little sum of money, in the distant hope of bye & bye purchasing his freedom

so long as y wrest away those sacred rights – the rights to t products of my labor, to my wife, my child, my body & my mind, & thus shut me up to all t wretchedness of ignorance, sin, degradation & death – wh. is such kindness? To wh. does it amount? Wh. is it but a mockery of my woe? And yet in this christian land, at this very hour, there are two millions & more of immortal minds, made in t image of God, redeemed by the blood of Jesus, & they are all chained & fettered & debased & brutalized – shut out, ~~from t light~~ practically at least, from t light of the gospel & t blessings of salvation. Not a leaf may they possess, not a letter may they read of the word of Eter. life; & t man the ~~wd~~ attempts to instruct them from its sacred pages, by teaching them to read them, does it at his peril.

I speak not now of the sin of

this thing, out of its cruelty; & wh.t I ask so cruel as this? Wh.t is t kind treatment of animal comforts & conveniences in such a case as this? In t true sense of t phrase then kind treatment to a slave is a solecism in terms. What! wrest from a man the right to t products of his industry, the right to his wife & children, t right to his body & his mind even, & thus subject him to an iron hearted despotism the withers, & crushes & ~~degrades the immortal mind & degrades~~ & energies talk of kind treatment! As well might you cut off my head, & then put in t palliation of kind treat.t, because you found it for yr interest or yr reputation to put my body into a comfortable coffin & give it a decent interment. Whatever else then may be true of t slave, t treat.t of wrested & trampled rights is t highest injustice & t severest cruelty, & t most iron hearted despotism to which he can be subjected; & so long as he is subjected to this, he is not & cannot, in t true sense of t phrase, be said, to be kindly treated.

The view, now taken, though designed particularly to illustrate the cruelty of slavery, at the same time, illustrates several other points.

1. It illustrates the ignorance of slavery; & shows the utter impracticability of educating & elevating & christianizing, the slave while a slave.

The opinion of Jenkyn, slave holder

2. It shows the infidelity of slavery.

(b)

3. It shows the wickedness - the sin of slavery. I speak not of slavery in the abstract - that is a mere nonentity - but of slavery as it is in actual life, - living, breathing, acting; & I aver, that if the facts now stated respecting it, as it now is, & is now practiced, do not prove its wickedness beyond dispute, then such a thing as wicked never yet existed on earth. If the

American Slaveholder, under the sanc-tion of a corrupt public sentiment, & a system of oppressive law, the creature of that sentiment, may put his foot upon his brother's neck & crush him to the earth, & yet be innocent then there never was a deed of violence done on earth, the might not wash out its stain in a similar manner.

It is important to dwell on this point, somewhat at large. I remark then the slavery, is, from first to last, robbery — robbery of the individual — robbery of the community; & robbery of God; & it is a robbery too of the most heinous & atrocious character. (This is no new doctrine either See Convention Report No 1, p. 24.)

~~It is robbery of the individual.~~

Robbery is taking what belongs to another, without his consent, & appro-priating it to oneself &c.

Slavery in all its forms, & in all the instances of its existence does this. It

takes wh. belongs to the individual, to the community, & to God, & appropriates it to itself. Take a single illustration

---- Daniel Webster.

---- George Washington.

---- Whitfield -- & had he been born in servitude &c

Think then of the robbery that is being committed continually in this land by holding 2,000,000 & more of human beings in bondage. They are plundered of the products of their industry, ~~of the~~ husbands of the wives & wives of the husbands; parents of the children & children of the parents - & all of them, of the benefits & blessings they might accrue to them from the possession of the freedom, & from the free & full developement of the bodily, intellectual & moral powers. The community is plundered of all the physical, intellectual, & moral resources

& strength it did possess, were two millions of industrious, enterprising, enlightened & virtuous freemen to occupy the place of so many trodden down, disheartened, ignorant, degraded & vicious slaves. ~~The bone & t~~ The industry & enterprise, t bone & t sinew, t intellect & t heart ~~of two millions~~, th lie crushed beneath t iron hand of slavery, are so much lost to t community & t world. And God too is robbed. There lie the intellect & heart & with them, t bone & sinew of more than two millions of men - ~~intellects~~ & heart, th might h. b. expanded & developed in such a way & to such an extent, as to throw th influence over t world to t good of men & t glory of God, yet there they lie fettered, cramped, crushed, prostrate in t dust. Verily the hand th placed them there, or th persists in keeping them there, is ~~guilty of plundering the world & God~~,

robbing God of what belongs to him, might otherwise be sanctified, & laid out in his service & to his glory. It is, in a word, a robbery of the individ., of the community, & of God.

And it is a robbery of the deepest die. It were bad enough were it only a robbery of property - of mere dollars & cents. But it is more than this. It not only thrusts its hand into the individual's pocket, robbing him of his little all; & into the public treasury, & treasury of God, robbing them of all the that individ. might otherwise have thrown into them, but it enters into the very holy of holies, robs the man, the community, & God, of intellect & heart. It is a robbery of immortal mind - mind, bearing the impress of deity on its mind, redeemed by the blood of Jesus; mind, capable of indefinite expansion & developement; & thus, if renewed, of

sending its influences of mercy abroad to sanctify & bless the world. And it is a robbery of mind, committed, not on here & there a solitary individual but on more than 2,000,000 of immortal beings. Oh! what Crime! What an accumulation of wrongs & woes! ~~[illegible] the individual! What a plunder of [illegible] industry, enterprise, [illegible] intellect [illegible]~~ — Caspar Hauser —

~~Will it be said, by way of excuse, that present generation did not introduce this state of things & that your public sentiment & law both justify it? — In other words, that slavery is entailed & the now such is the state of public sentiment, & such the law that practice of slaveholding cannot be avoided~~

And now will it be said, by way of excuse, the present generation did not originate & therefore are not answerable for the present state of things — the slavery comes to them as a legacy from the fathers, & the such is the public sentiment & such the law, as to render it justifiable. What is this, but saying, our fathers did so before us, & now thro. their instrumentality & example, we have been led to follow in the steps, until at length, the practice which they began, & wh. in them was wick, has so extended & entrenched itself in public sentiment & fortified itself by public law, as to be quite innocent? And what is this but saying, the more overgrown a given sin is, the less is its guilt?

Now the truth is, so far from being an excuse or palliation, the very fact the slavery has become so overgrown & is entrenched so firmly in a corrupt public sentiment, & in a system of

most oppressive law, is its heaviest condemnation — the very reason why every man should at once take a decided & open stand against it — the very thing the involves the man who does not, or who practices it, in greater guilt. For if there be any one principle in morals, capable of demonstration, it is the principle, the the more overgrown any sin has become, & the more firmly it is entrenched in public sentiment & public law, the more imperious is the obligation of the community ~~as such,~~ & of the individual as such, to take their stand against it, & the greater is the guilt if they do not.

e.g. Old man that sells fruit &c at the corner of the Old South Chh — suppose his stand &c carried off — passed from one to another — then himself &c

e.g. Rum selling under cover of the license laws.

e.g. Three-penny tax — suppose it gone on unresisted to the present time, &

grown up to be the guilt & shame of Tory-ism!

What then if slavery did originate with a previous generation, & has passed down to the present, & is entrenched behind public sentiment, & law? It ceases not on the account to be in principle, essential robbery both of man & God. So far from it, this very circumstance does but aggravate the crime & involve the man the commits it in greater guilt. Such is the decision of common sense. And such is the decision of the word of God. "Woe unto them" (as being among the chief of sinners) the decree unrighteous decrees, & the write grievousness, which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, & to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, & that they may rob the fatherless". (Is 10:1,2) "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which

~~prevent mischief by a law?~~ (as if its destruction were the more certain on this very account) "Fumeth mischief by a law?" (Ps 94:20). — Sanctioned by law & by public sentiment!! = {Licence system. Slave trade. Papal Brothels.} = {Missionaries Daniel Inquisitions}

Slavery then in its nature tendencies is cruel, debasing, infidel wicked; & ought accordingly to be abandoned at once both by the individual & the community.

~~But there are~~

Obj. 1. — — But, it is often said that slavery is altogether a Southern matter, & the question is asked, Why shd we meddle with it?

Slavery is not altogether a Southern matter. Northern men are implicated in it. We are all implicated to a greater or less extent. It is emphatically a national sin — tolerated

& keep it in ascendency by the voice of the nation. — Districts — taxed — liable to march &c — to restore the runaways — slave votes — slave products — public sentiment, if this were right in the non-slaveholding &c.

Again 2. It is said the agitation of this subject will make the slaves discontented & stir up insurrections among them. — Discontent now — Influence of a hope of deliverance = Charleston plot = Plans of slaves in Georgia & S. Car. = West Indies.

Again 3. It will do no good, it is said, to agitate the subject here, even if the slaves do remain quiet; it will not reach the masters, or, if it does will only provoke & exasperate, rather than induce them to give up the slaves. This is a mistake. It will reach the master. It does reach

him. The public ~~sentiment of the land on the subject~~ mind is every where ex-
-ceeding sensitive on this subject.
Scarce a word can be uttered in respt
to it but it is heard & its vibrations
felt thro. the land = Pamphlet. =

And not only does the agitation of
the subject reach the slaveholder, but it
reaches him to purpose. Multitudes,
it is true, are for the present only ex-
-asperated, but it is not so with all.
= Many the only need to be sustained &c
= Kentucky & Arkansas.
= Lane Seminary.
= "Power of public opinion" = 2
= Mr Ross of Tennessee.

Again 4. But wht shall the slaveholders
do, it is asked? If they give their slaves
up; they will only become idle vagrants
or desperadoes, preying on the public
& perhaps wreaking vengeance on the

masters. This objection however is founded in entire ignorance of the matter. So far from becoming idle vagrants they will be just ⊥ reverse. Thousands of facts – all experience demonstrates it. = Burrill case.

= Throughout, recently from whitepeg

And why should it not be so? The slave is a man &c –

And farther, so far from becoming desperadoes, they will be just the reverse. It is the oppression that drives them to desperation, & stirs them up to deeds of violence & blood. Let the cease & the spirit of resistance & insurrection will cease with it. = The rise of abolitionists

= Meeting on ⊥ island off Charleston – "revenge sweet" &c

And so in point of fact it has ever been – not a drop of white blood – Indeed the planters know there

is no danger of this sort &c = Bermuda & Antigua.

= Test. of slaves at Philadelphia

"Satisf. content, & happy as kings"?

Away then with all excuses for the neglect of duty in respect to this matter. Slavery in our land is a sin of crimson die - robbery of man, of the community, & of God. It is a national sin - all directly or indirectly implicated in it; & all is, so far as thus implicated, are called on to repent of it & forsake it at once. This is the fast the Lord has chosen, "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, & to let the oppressed go free, & the ye break every yoke". The slaveholder must do this. He, with deep contrition for the past, must yield at once the right of ownership to the slave, & thus reinstate him in the possession of his rights as a man, & put him under the control of equitable law, equitably administered.

The Non-slaveholder, you my breth-
-ren, must do it. It is ye voice the
tolerates & upholds this system of iniquity
& blood in the Dist. & ye Terrs. Nay it is
the sanction of ye silence, the sustains
it in ye States. You as individuals-
-you as a community then must
break ye guilty silence. You must
speak out on the subj.t & make ye voice
to be heard. You must take ye stand
openly, fearlessly, & utter ye testimony
& give forth ye remonstrances against
it; & thus strip ye slaveholder of the
countenance & sanction of ye example
& influence. The cry of such as are op-
-pressed & h no comforter demands it.
Fidelity to ye country & to God demands it; &
brethren if you, if all of this nation do
not heed this demand, "judg.t without
mercy", yea, destruction without remedy,
will come upon us from ye hand of
our God. See Reports of Convention 1794 pp
23 & 46 — See Pencil —

Say not brethren the this is a sin,

in which we have no concern, (or one
th is foreign to t design of such a day
as this). Far otherwise. "We are verily
guilty concerning our brother, in th
we saw t anguish of his soul when
he besought us, & we would not
hear; therefore is this distress come
upon us." (Gen 42:21) Think then of two
millions in bondage. On t side of th^e
oppressors there is power but they h no
comforter. And yet we h seen t anq-
uish of th^e soul, as they h besought us,
& we have not heard - prayer - spoken
out in th^e behalf, nor plead t cause of
the oppressed. Verily then we are guilty
& as we w^d not mock Jehovah, we
are bound this day to repent of past
indiff^e & neglect, & begin at once to
vindicate t cause of t oppressed - to
take our stand in th^e behalf - to utter
our loud & unqualified remonstrance

against ye oppression yt is crushing them to ye earth & virtually robbing ye nation & God of ye intellect & heart, & influence of two millions of immortal men - in a word, to send up our prayers - to put forth our efforts, - to send abroad our influence, & in every possible & lawful way, to ~~come up in~~ go forth at once & in earnest to ye deliverance of ye captive, & ye relief of ye oppressed. Then shall our light break forth as ye morning, & our health spring forth speedily, & our rights go before us, & ye glory of the Lord be our rere ward. They yt be of us sh build ye old waste places, ~~then shall we~~ & raise up ye foundns of many generations, & we sh be called ye Repairer of ye breach & ye Restorer of paths to dwell in.

And now is there one present who
can turn away with cold indifference from
this subject - with a frozen hearted ~~remark~~
excuse, "I dont care anything about
it" - "it is a subject with which I have no con-
-cern"? Brute! Then brother, sister, remem-
-ber the words of Jesus Christ, he will
said - "Depart from me ye cursed, into
everlasting punishment fire, prepared
for the devil and his angels. For I
was an hungered, & ye gave me
no meat; I was thirsty & ye
gave me no drink; I was stran-
-ger & ye took me not in; naked &
ye clothed me not; sick & in prison
-on & ye visited me not. Then
shall they also answer him, saying
Lord when saw we thee an
hungered, or athirst, or a stranger,
or naked, or sick, or in prison,
and did not minister
unto thee? Then shall he answer
them, saying, Verily I say unto

Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me — And these shall go away into ye —